

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T TEHRAN 03100

EXDIS

FOR ATHERTON AND SAUNDERS FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: XF, IS, JO
SUBJ: DISCUSSION WITH SHAH ON PALESTINE ISSUE IN WEST BANK

1. WHEN I SAW THE SHAH MARCH 28, HE ONCE AGAIN RAISED WITH ME HIS FAVORITE FORMULA FOR HANDLING THE PALESTINE ISSUE IN THE WEST BANK, THAT FORMULA, YOU WILL RECALL, IS TO INTERPRET RESOLUTION 242 AS REQUIRING ISRAEL TO HAND BACK THE WEST BANK (WITH TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS TO BE AGREED) TO JORDAN, FROM WHICH IT WAS TAKEN BY SIRAEI MILITARY ACTION. UNDER THIS FORMULA, ISRAEL WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE REQUIRED TO MAKE ANY DECISIONS ABOUT A REFERENDUM OR OTHER ACT OF "SELF-DETERMINATION" BY THE PALESTINIANS. SUCH MATTERS WOULD BECOME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF JORDAN TO MAKE AFTER THE TERRITORY IS HANDED BACK.

2. THE SHAH, WHO HAD KING HUSSEIN AS HIS GUEST ON KISH ISLAND DURING THIS CONVERSATION, SAID HE WAS CONFIDENT HUSSEIN WAS PREPARED TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HANDLING THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE AND COULD BE COUNTED ON TO RESIST THE IDEA OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. THE SHAH HAS PREVIOUSLY TOLD ME THAT SADAT WOULD ALSO ACCEPT THIS FORMULA FOR THE
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WEST BANK.

3. THIS IS ABOUT THE FOURTH TIME THE SHAH HAS MADE THIS PROPOSAL TO US AND WE HAVE NEVER YET GIVEN HIM A RESPONSE. YOU WILL RECALL THAT HE OUTLINED THESE IDEAS TO THE SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON LAST NOVEMBER AND AGAIN TO THE PRESIDENT IN TEHRAN ON DECEMBER 31. HE OBVIOUSLY BELIEVES THAT THEY HAVE

MERIT AND THAT WE HAVE NOT YET EXPLAINED WHY WE DECLINE TO ESPOUSE THEM IN THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS.

4. I AM NOT ADEQUATELY ACQUAINTED WITH THE NUANCES OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE AND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO KNOW WHY THE SHAH'S FORMULA HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED. ON THE FACE OF IT, THE IDEAS WOULD SEEM TO OFFER A WAY TO GET ISRAEL OFF THE PALESTINE HOOK, EVEN IF IT DOES IMPOSE A CONSIDERABLE BURDEN ON HUSSEIN TO FACE ARAB PRESSURES ABOUT PALESTINE SELF-DETERMINATION AS WELL AS TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS ON THE WEST BANK. HOWEVER, IF HUSSEIN REALLY IS PREPARED TO SHOULDER THESE BURDENS, HE WOULD SEEM A RELIABLE PARTY TO THE PEACE PROCESS.

5. ACTION REQUESTED: I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE AN AUTHORITATIVE U.S. REACTION TO THE SHAH'S PROPOSALS. IF WE FEEL THEY ARE NON-STARTERS, I WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING THE FULL RATIONALE SO THAT I CAN EXPOUND IT TO HIM THE NEXT TIME HE RAISES THEM. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU FEEL THEY HAVE MERIT AND ARE PREPARED TO TRY THEM, I WOULD APPRECIATE BEING ABLE TO LET HIM KNOW IN ADVANCE.

SULLIVAN

SECRET

NNN

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